

A
L E T T E R

To the Right Honourable

Sir Robert Walpole,

CONCERNING

The ELECTION of a King of POLAND,
the CLAIM of King STANISLAUS,
the VIEWS of the House of AUSTRIA,
and the INTEREST of GREAT-
BRITAIN.

By Charles Forman, Esq;



L O N D O N:

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A
LETTER.

Paris, the 15th of April, 1733.

S I R,



THE Interest of my Country prevailed upon me to offer you a Reconciliation Sixteen Months ago: You were pleased to reject it: And I had no way left to serve *Great Britain*, but to submit those Things to the Consideration of the Publick, which I would, with much greater Satisfaction, have communicated to you in private. In what I have published I have given *Britons* a View of the Condition of our Trade, sufficient to rouse them up to the necessary Means for its Preservation; and as you are the *first* among them in *Power*, I flatter myself, that you will not be the *last* in endeavouring to put a Stop to those Practices of our carested Allies, from whence the Ruin of our Manufacturers, and the general Distress of the good People of *England* have originally proceeded.

I need not enter, at this Time, into any Detail of the indispensable Duty of a Minister in a free Nation. This Subject has been sufficiently handled already. No Man in *England* knows the important Duty of being faithful to the Interest of one's Country better than you do; no Minister, since the Creation, ever had such good Advice given him, as you have received from Time to Time, and from several Hands, these Seven Years past; nor has any Minister ever been under such

Obligations to exert himself as you are at present, since you have not the least Shadow of an Excuse left for any future Errors you may possibly commit.

The Recovery of our languishing Trade depends upon the Measures you take in this critical Juncture; and the present Situation of Affairs in *Poland* very fortunately furnishes you with an Opportunity of making your Memory precious to Posterity, and of shining in the Annals of *Britain* with greater Lustre than any of her Ministers have ever yet done. In short, Sir, I take the Freedom to tell you, but with all the Deference that can be reasonably expected from a Gentleman and a free-born *Briton*, solicitous for the Happiness of his Country, and fearful of her Fate, that the Election of a King of *Poland* is now become the *Touch-stone*, by which to try your Affection for *England*, to justify his Majesty's Choice of you for his Minister, and to confirm what several Writers have so long and so often published in your Praise. This, Sir, is the ticklish Point upon which you stand at present. The least false Step intails an endless Train of Woes and Calamities upon your Country; and consequently, a Load of eternal Reproach will be the Reward of your Administration. But a Conduct attended with Judgment and Integrity regains you the Hearts of the People, and makes every honest *Briton* your Friend.

By this short Preface, you may be convinced how far I am from wishing you any personal Harm; especially since I am going to propose the Means by which you may establish your Reputation forever, and secure your Family from the Caprices of Fortune, by making it deservedly dear to *Great Britain*. I assure you, Sir, I would despise myself, were I conscious of meanness enough of Soul to hate any Man upon a personal Quarrel, or Injury received from him; or, by any Means, to pursue a private Revenge under the Cloak of serving the Publick. No, Sir *Robert*; I hate none but the Enemies of my Country; and even among those Enemies, I only hate such as either are born in it, or have Obligations to it, because they act against the Laws of Nature,

ture, Duty, and Gratitude. This is an honest, a laudable Hatred ; but I absolutely disclaim and renounce any other, as repugnant to Religion and Honour. These Things premised, let us now come to the Point.

There is a certain Set of Men here, who have these ten Years past pretended to be better acquainted with your secret Intentions than I ever believed they were : These Men assert openly and confidently at present, that *England* will strenuously oppose the Re-establishment of King *Stanislaus*. This is the Stile they make use of ; almost every Body believes them ; and I assure you, Sir, this Affair flushes them full as much as the Noise of a *Project* for a *General Excise*. They now rave on nothing but *War* and *Restoration*.

Upon this Occasion I cannot, I think, give a greater Demonstration of Duty to his Majesty, and Care of the Interest of my Countrymen, then in the Advice I send you. If it any way contributes to your taking the right Side of the Question, in this important Struggle about the *Polish* Crown, the Service you will thereby render to *Britain*, is the only Recompence I shall ever ask at your Hands.

But, in giving you my Opinion upon this Subject, my Design is not to depreciate the Merit of any of the other Competitors for the Throne of *Poland*. I am no Stranger to the Respect due to Princes ; and I hope I have not transgressed it in any Piece I have hitherto published. Nevertheless, I believe I may say, without giving any just Offence to the Rest, that there is not one among those Competitors, whose *Pretensions* bear any Proportion to those of King *Stanislaus* ; or whose Alliance can bring so much Advantage to *England*. This I shall endeavour to demonstrate.

But I first take Leave to tell you, that I never had the good Fortune, or Honour, to see that injured Prince. I have no farther Interest in his Success, than what every honest Man has in seeing Justice take Place, and the Benefit that will accrue to my Country, by the Restoration of King *Stanislaus*. On the contrary, I might rather expect an Advantage from his
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Disappointment, by the Difficulties to which it would expose you hereafter: For I am not weak enough ever to hope to make you my Friend; and can propose nothing from the Encrease of your Power, but an Augmentation of my Misfortunes, by prolonging my Absence from the Place of my Nativity. But these Considerations are below an honest Mind; and were they not so, I could always sacrifice them to my Duty. *Cato* says, *It is a pity that we can dye but once to serve our Country*; it is really so: But I have done something more. I have suffered the most cruel, the most inhumane, the longest Persecution, without Respite, that ever pursued any *Briton* for endeavouring to serve the Nation. *Cato* would have approved me; but *Britain* has been inattentive to my Wrongs, and the Interest she had to redress them: Though, to say the Truth, this Inattention is not to be imputed to her as a Fault. I know the Condition she is in, and I lament it with the deepest Sorrow. It is this deplorable Condition that has so often obliged me to exercise my Pen in her Defence; and now puts it in my Hand once more to contribute my Endeavours towards preserving our Merchants, retailing Tradesmen, Artificers, Farmers, and even the landed Men themselves, from the pernicious Consequences *that will pour in upon them from the Success of the Schemes of Vienna*.

Permit me then, Sir, to ask you what Benefit you can propose for *Great Britain*, by chiming in with the Emperor's Measures to place the Crown of *Poland* upon the Head of a Prince whose Interest he pleases to espouse. The Care of our Trade ought to be the principal Object of your Conduct in all Treaties and Negotiations whatever. Upon it our *ALL* depends: The Honour, the Religion, the Liberty, the Safety of every Thing that is dear to *Britons*! The greatest *Encroachers* upon our Trade are the *Dutch*: They are *the People in the Universe that do it the most essential Mischief*. Will then, an Alliance with the Emperor, *an Alliance in which the Dutch must always be included*, ever be the Means to rescue our Commerce from the Intrigues

Intrigues and Practices of *Holland* ? Or will the enlarging the Power and Dominions of the *House of Austria*, ever enlarge the Trade of *Great Britain* ? These are the great Questions which every *British Minister*, if he is an honest Man, will never fail to ask himself, and to be thoroughly informed in, before he lends his Hand to any Imperial Project, and lists his Country a Drudge to the Interest and Views of the *Austrian Family*.

You cannot but have observed, for some Time past, the Steps by which the Emperor is encreasing and fortifying his Interest in *Russia*. Except you interpose in this Juncture, which I call a happy One, that vast Empire will be entirely at his Devotion, and managed by Counsels and Directions from *Vienna*. His *Imperial Majesty's* Ministers will never want Address, to make it, upon all Occasions, the Instrument with which to impose *Passive Obedience* upon the Princes of *Germany*. But whether This is one of his *Imperial Majesty's* mighty Designs or not, is what I shall be silent in ; though I think the safest Way for us, is to suspect, and endeavour to prevent it.

The Count of *Beveren* is Cousin to the Empress regnant ; and a Marriage is warmly talked of between him and the Czarine's Niece. By such a Marriage, he may come to be Emperor of *Russia* much sooner than we ought to wish it. The *Roman* and *Russian* Emperors may perhaps, then think of dividing *Poland* between them : A Thing not altogether improbable, nor any way impossible, if his *Imperial Majesty* can now get a Prince of his own Nomination elected, to prepare the Way for that great Project ; and if the Power of the *German* Princes continues to decline, and That of the Emperor to increase in the Empire a few Years longer, in Proportion to what they have done a few Years past.

But whether this may ever happen or not : Would the placing a Prince upon the Throne of *Poland*, entirely devoted to the *House of Austria*, and, without doubt, as entirely directed by it, be any Advantage to
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Great Britain ? If it would, pray shew how : This is the principal Point. If it would not ; will you lead your Country into Intrigues and Negotiations from which she can reap no Advantage, but may receive a great deal of Prejudice, and be ruined beyond a Possibility of Relief ? This, Sir, is a Question which I think you are obliged to answer before you proceed a Step farther.

In what Place soever the *Imperial* Eagle has spread her Wings, Trade has languished and withered under the fatal Cloud of them : For this, you need but look into the *Austrian* and *French Netherlands*. In the former, the *Flemmings* sigh after their old Masters the *French* and the *Spaniards* ; and the poor Creatures are so harassed with *Imposts* and *Excises*, that they can hardly keep their Houses from falling on their Heads, through their Inability to repair them. What little Magnificence or Plenty is yet remaining among the *Flemmings*, must be look'd for in the great Cities : In the open Country and Villages, nothing is to be met with but the most consummate Poverty. The People look as it they were half famished ; and their Condition does not in any Respect give the Lie to their Countenances. The Produce of the Countryman and Artificer's Labour, is taxed and excised away : The Sweat of the Brows of the unhappy *Flemmings*, only serves to encrease the Riches of Vienna, and to pay Twelve Thousand Dutch Troops in the Barrier Towns. In the Year 1729, I was an Eye-Witness of this surprizing Misery in one of the most fertile Countries in the Universe ; and never was so astonished in my Life, to find the Scene so suddenly changed, as when I stepped out of the *Imperial* into *French Flanders*. *Sicily* and *Naples* are other melancholly Proofs that the *Imperialists* are Discouragers of Trade wherever they prevail ; and I believe, our Merchants are very sensible that their Trade to those Kingdoms is nothing near so considerable as it would have been, had we not impolitickly, if not unjustly, dismember'd them from the *Spanish* Monarchy, to encrease the Dominions of the *House of Austria*.

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Now, Sir, the Argument I draw from what I have said, is, that as Commerce is the Support and Life of *England*, the Inhabitants of any Place to which She Trades, cannot be impoverished without her being immediately affected by it. Wherefore, instead of contributing to the farther *Extension* of the *Imperial* Power and Dominions, we ought to fall upon immediate Measures in Conjunction with *France*, *Spain*, and *Sweden*, for *reducing them within narrower and more natural Limits*; since they have so fatal an Influence over the Industry of our Merchants, and the Labour of our Manufacturers.

Besides, as we have *Rivals* in Commerce, whose Practices tend to engross all the Trade of *Europe* to themselves, another great Question offers itself upon this Occasion of chusing a King of *Poland*: Whether the Emperor, and his *Russian* and *Polish* Allies, would not be much more inclined to favour the *Dutch* than us, in any Dispute or Quarrel with them about Commerce? Let us state the Case. By contributing to the Re-establishment of King *Stanislaus*, we secure *France*, *Poland* and *Sweden* in our Interest: By taking the contrary Party we must, soon or late, be sure of having *France* and *Sweden*, with all the Allies they can make, for our Enemies. But by siding with the Emperor, *Russia*, and other Powers, who can never forgive *Stanislaus* the Injury they have done him, I ask again, Whether we can, in Return, expect their Assistance, or even their Neutrality, in a War that may happen between us and the *Dutch*? If not; *our Trade must ever remain at the Mercy of Holland, while we have an Alliance with the Emperor, and are in ill Terms with France*. Sir, there is no Possibility of the Thing being otherwise: Wherefore I think we ought to avoid any such Understanding with his *Imperial* Majesty, in this Affair of *Poland*, as may furnish *France* with any just Grounds to quarrel with us. The *Dutch* understand the Nature of an Alliance between the Emperor and *England* so thoroughly; they play their Game upon it so perfectly well for themselves, and so destructively

fructively for us, that *Britons*, instead of being eternally the *Bubbles of Holland*, ought to be fired with Indignation at the Manner in which they daily see themselves duped and abused. No Man living knows the Truth of this better than you, yourself ; nor can you deny that this Point demands your utmost Reflection, if you think of your Country, (as surely you do,) before you venture to act an *Under-part* to a *German Ministry*, which visibly tends to make the *Dutch entirely Masters of our Trade*. If you exert the *Englishman*, you cannot ballance a Moment to declare for King *Stanislaus* ; for which I could give you another very particular Reason, were it not a little too delicate to be communicated to the Publick. But though I wave it at present, upon that Account, I am, nevertheless, ready to impart it to his Majesty's Embassadour here, as soon as you honour me with your Commands.

In the mean Time, I have said enough for a wise Man to take Notice of. We have, in a Manner, lost the Trade of the *Netherlands*, by fighting to procure them for the Emperor, and a *Barrier* in them for the *Dutch*. We lost the *Spanish Trade* ten Years together, very much to the Advantage of *Holland*, by fighting to get *Spain* for his present *Imperial Majesty*. And we have lost the best Share of the Trade of *Italy*, by putting the *House of Austria* in Possession of the *Milaneze, Sicily and Naples* ; not an Inch of which Ground It would have been possessed of at this Time, had *Great Britain* fate still ; as all the World is now convinced, and dear bought Experience has taught her, it was her Interest to have done. After so many notable Exploits performed by us, for the *House of Austria* and *Holland*, What's to be done next ? Must the Rest of our Trade be sacrificed ? Must our Manufacturers be forced into downright Beggary ? Must our Poor be multiplied, and Discontent propagated all over the Kingdom, to make an *Emperor's King of Poland*, and introduce the *Chevalier de St. George*, into Britain ? It is not four Years since, that Prince's Ministers were very busy at the Court of
Vienna ;

Vienna ; and some People say, that they were not ill received there.

Here, Sir, the Affection I bear to my Country, and the Duty I owe to his Majesty King *George*, oblige me to grow a little familiar with you : *Britons* have a Right to be so with their Minister, when the publick Safety is at Stake. Permit me to ask you, then, whether *Pretendership* is only a Scarecrow, or whether it was really thought a Clog upon *Britain*, and dangerous to the *Protestant Succession*, by those honourable Gentlemen who lately urged it in Parliament as an Argument for keeping up a standing Army : Not a Body of Forces for one Year only, but a Body of Troops, not less than 17800 Men, but as many more as you please, while the *House of Hanover* enjoys the Crown, and *Pretendership* subsists ? If it was not a *Chimera* so few Days ago, is it become One all on a sudden ? If it is not a meer Fiction, to frighten the People out of their Money upon any Ministerial Occasion ; if it is really dangerous to the *Protestant Succession*, will you contribute to any Measures for keeping up this *Pretendership*, so burthensome to the Kingdom, so terrible to the People, and so portentous to their Liberties ? Will you contribute, by Methods which Honour, Justice, and Affection to your Country oblige you to oppose with all your Power ; will you, I ask, contribute to the Pretences for intailing standing Armies upon a free Nation ? Is your Design to bring back the *Chevalier* to *St. Germain* ; to encrease the publick Expences by so near a Neighbourhood ; and to endanger the Liberties of *Great Britain*, by such a Number of Forces as will be called necessary for the Defence of the *Hanover Succession*, should *France* be provoked to take the *Chevalier* once more under her Protection ? This may probably be the Consequence of doing Injustice to King *Stanislaus*, in joining the Emperor's Measures, either to force or influence the Suffrages of the *Poles* in the ensuing Election.

When King *Childeric* the First of *France*, had tost himself out of the Throne, by an Administration hateful to the People, he was forced to take Shelter abroad.

At his going off, a particular Confidant and Favourite of his cut a Piece of Gold in two; he gave one Part to the King, and told him he would send him the other, when he had ripen'd Things for his Return. In short, the unhappy King goes away, *and his private Friend was the loudest Railer against him in his Absence.* This subtle Agent ingratiated himself with * *Ægidus*, who had step'd into the Royalty, and, at last, became his prime Minister: *He had then the Reins of Government in his Hands, and directed all his Power to the Destruction of his new Master and Friend.* This proved no difficult Matter for him to do. *Ægidus* had a thorough Confidence in his Minister, and suffered himself to be entirely governed by him in oppressing, taxing, and excising the People, to that Degree, that they lost all manner of Patience. If *Childeric* had been a Tyrant, *Ægidus* was become a very Monster, by following the Advice of his villainous Minion. The People groaned under the Burthen, which not *Ægidus*, but the Minister had purposely loaded them with; They cried aloud for their former King to come to their Relief; and the Minister sent him the other Part of the Piece of Gold, as a Signal for his advancing. Upon this, *Childeric* returns at the Head of a powerful Army, and re-enters France. The French crowd to his Standard. *Ægidus* is deserted by every Body; and his Traitor Minister was one of the First to leave him to his evil Fortune. This notable Revolution was brought about by the blackest Treachery; but as it proved successful, the Historians of that Age have sanctified it with the highest Encomiums.

Sir, your noble Mind is above such hellish Arts; and I have only mentioned this Piece of History as a Contrast to your shining Conduct: You will never give bad Advice to your Prince, nor lead your Country into any of the abovementioned Difficulties, by opposing King *Stanislaus*. No Sir; I will not believe any Thing so unworthy of your Wisdom and Integrity; so opposite to your own personal Safety, and, perhaps, the Preservation of your Posterity; and so directly contrary to your Loyalty as a Subject, and your Duty as a Minister.

While

* Some call him *Hegidus*.

While *France, Spain, Sweden, and Poland* are Friends to *Great Britain*, from what Quarter of the World has she any Thing to apprehend? What Power upon Earth can give her any Disturbance? Do you believe that *Spain* can look with any Satisfaction at the Emperor's Success in this Business, when she has so little Reason to be pleased with his Power and overgrown Dominions at present? Do you imagine that *Sweden* will not think herself outraged in the Person of a Prince so deservedly dear to her adored *Charles the 12th*? These Three Powers are so far from being despicable, that we ought, in our present incumber'd Circumstances, to be very careful how we unite and provoke them. The Resentment of any One of them may, upon a judiciously timed Occasion, put us to more Alarms, and load us with greater Expences, than we ought to expose ourselves to, in Complaisance to the *House of Austria*.

But should we unite, and unjustly force them to a Rupture with us, can you answer for the Friendship of our *High and Mighty Allies*, any longer than they find their Account in it; as they did in the last War? And will not such an Account be at our Expence? Should we beat the *French and Spaniards* Ten Years together, a Thing by no means to be depended on; should we throw away another Hundred Millions to purchase a bloody Victory every Year for ourselves, and *Two or Three Towns for the Dutch*, would it not be all we should have for supporting this hopeful Project to oppose King *Stanislaus*? Would not *new Taxes, new Excises, new Debts, more Wounds, and the Loss of the rest of our Trade*, be all we should get by the Bargain, though the *Dutch* should continue ever so firm to us? But, Sir, are you sure that the *Dutch* would not lurch us, if they found it their Interest to do so? Do you fancy their Fidelity above Temptation? If you do; undeceive yourself. We have recent Examples of their Conduct in the Treaty of *Munster*, and in carrying on the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, in which they left every Thing concerning our Trade to a general Treaty, but made an ample Provision, in the Preliminaries, for the Security of their own, and

and for keeping the *Scheld* shut up against us, because it ruins our Trade with *Antwerp*, and cuts it off with *Germany* on that Side: For the same Reason they never were at Rest until they got *Maestricht* into their Possession. Their View in the *Barrier*, to ruin our Trade with the *Austrian Netherlands*, is also evident beyond Contradiction. I have told you their main Design in struggling so hard to retain the Possession of *Embsen* and *Lieroord*, and I can now shew you a new *Temptation* in their Way, which I would not have you risk the Tryal of, as you tender the Liberties of *Britain*, and the Preservation of her Trade. Should such an Offer be made to the *Dutch*, when we have affronted and provoked *France* too far to retreat; and should they accept it, where would you be then? Did any wise Minister ever yet throw himself headlong into the precarious Circumstances of depending upon the Gratitude of any foreign Prince whatever, by obliging him contrary to the Interest of his own Country.

The Treatment of the late Earl *Stanhope*, when that great Man, both Soldier and Statesman, commanded the *British* Army in *Spain*, ought to teach you what you are to expect from the *House of Austria*, if you ever plunge yourself and the Nation into Difficulties upon her Account. You know how that General, and all the *British* Regiments with him, were sacrificed at *Breheuga*, when they were enclosed by the whole Force of *Spain*, commanded by King *Phillip* and the great *Vendosme* in Person. It was *Britain* alone that bore the Burthen of the *Spanish* War, to assert the Pretensions of the present Emperor to that Monarchy. That War cost her more Blood and Treasure than the War she carried on in *Flanders* with the same View and more Success. General *Stanhope* was a Gentleman whom every honest, gallant Man could not but admire and love for his intrepid Bravery, his Integrity, his heroick Contempt of Money, though even acquired by the most justifiable Means, and, in a Word, for a Thousand other shining Qualities; for, certainly, more never center'd in any One Man. Nevertheless, when his Aid de Camp, Colonel

lonel *Cosby*, with abundance of Difficulty and Danger, got through the Enemy, and brought *Staremburg* the News of the *British* General's Distress, the grateful, generous Count seem'd very calm upon the Matter, and said it was Time enough to march to his Relief in the Morning: Whereas, had he marched that Moment, as he might, and ought to have done, he would have prevented the Dishonour and Loss that fell upon *Britain* the next Day. This is not the only Instance I could give, that there is hardly any such Thing as obliging the Court of *Vienna*: That Court seems to look down upon the rest of Mankind, and thinks its bare Acceptance more than a Recompence for the greatest Service that can be render'd to it. My Lord *Stanhope* and the *British* Troops had chiefly contributed, by their Conduct and Bravery, to the Victory of *Almanara*, and you see how the Imperial General requited them at *Breheuga*. Your Fate, Sir, will be the same with that noble Lord's, if you make yourself a *Tool* to the Emperor's Schemes, and embroil *Great Britain* by doing so.

But, to take the Picture in the most advantageous Light, let us suppose this will never be altogether the Case: Let us suppose that the Emperor will be grateful; that our dear Friends the *Dutch* will remain disinterestedly firm to us; and that *Sweden* will be wholly indifferent in the Matter; all this supposed, for it is but meer Supposition, what Equivalent can you propose to your Country, for exposing her to the united Resentments of *France* and *Spain*, which their Situation may, some Time or other, render serviceable to the *Chevalier*? Please to name any one Advantage that can possibly accrue to *Britons*, from your opposing King *Stanislaus*, to indemnify them for the Danger, Trouble, and Expence to which such an Opposition will subject them. If it is in Trade, then let us see any Article in which that Advantage will consist. This, Sir, *Britons* have a Right to be satisfied in, and in which, I presume, you will think yourself obliged to satisfy them, before you enter into Measures of so important a Nature.

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The *Spanish Trade*, even but for Two or Three Years, is worth more to *Britain*, by the Ballance it brings in, and the Number of Hands it employs, than the *Friendship* of the *House of Austria* to Eternity: Especially if we can make any Estimate of that *Friendship* for the Time to come, by the Fruit it has produced in the Time past. Nay, Sir, I will be bold enough to say, and think I am able to demonstrate it, *that we are already an Hundred Millions the worse for the Austrian Friendship*. But this is not to insinuate that *Britain* ought, upon every Occasion, to oppose the Emperor in any of his just Measures, or to reject an Alliance with his *Imperial Majesty* upon the Square; it is only to tell you, that she ought not to be made the *obsequious Drudge* of his Designs, from which new Riches and Power must accrue to him, *new Advantages to the Dutch*, and *nothing but Loss and Dishonour to Britons*.

Thus the more I enter into this Subject, the more I apprehend the Consequence of seeing the Crown of *Poland* upon the Head of a Prince, in Prejudice of the Father-in-Law of *Louis* the 15th; and your Conduct, I hope, will be such as not to involve your Country in Disputes and Quarrels, which it is so evidently her Interest, and your Business to avoid. Our Situation secures us from the Emperor's Resentments in this Case; and renders his Friendship but of little Use in all others, except we pay much too dear for it: But this Situation does not altogether secure us from the Resentments of *France* and *Spain*: Though our Fleets may protect our Coasts and prevent Invasions, our Trade must infallibly be ruin'd by a War with them, and a Load of new *Taxes* and *Excises* be laid upon the People; which I think, are Calamities enough, though we keep the War out of the Kingdom. So that, I humbly presume, there needs not much Time to consider of the Matter; and am of the Duke of *Guise's* Opinion, that if a Man cannot resolve in a Quarter of an Hour, upon such an Occasion, he will never resolve to Purpose as long as he lives.

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But, perhaps, some People, in Opposition to what I have said, will object, that we cannot trust the *Bonne Foy of France*: If this be true, we are in a very deplorable Dilemma.

There was a Time, indeed, when I would not have advised you to trust it too much; *but you then trusted it most*. I say, Sir, there was a Time when I would not have advised you to trust the *Faith of France*, any more than that of some of our Allies, *who never kept it with us but when they found more Advantage in doing so than in violating it*. But Times are very much alter'd since; and Ministers ought to change their Conduct according to the Change of Affairs. This you, yourself, have done in several of your Measures; and This the great *Richlieu* did upon many notable Occasions: But he always did it like a Man of Sense and Judgment; and not through any vile, mercenary Ends, to the Prejudice and Dishonour of his Country.

If *France* is not to be trusted, upon any Account, how came you to have so much Confidence in her, Nine Years together? In the first Two or Three Years of that Time she was much less to be trusted than at present; and until the Year 1731, *France* was a most faithful Ally, in the Language of *Mr. Walsingham* in his *Free Briton* on the *Irish recruiting-Affair*: An Ally inviolably just to all her Engagements, though so much to her own Detriment. That *Writer* told us too, in his *Postscript*, that you had an Affection for the *Cardinal Minister* here. Now, Sir, if *Walsingham* told Truth, at that Time, what has *France* or the *Cardinal* done since to deserve to be ill treated or suspected? But if your *Writer* published a down-right LYE, to serve a Turn, what Honour can the Papers and Assertions of such a Man do you? Who can lay any Stress upon what he says, when he presumes to give Reasons for any extraordinary Step you take?

But let *Walsingham* be what he will: If *France* has given you any Reason to throw yourself entirely into the Emperor's Measures, you owe your Country the Satisfaction and Justice to let her know wherein the

French Ministry have failed in any of their Engagements to you, from the very Beginning of your Administration, to the late *Treaty of Vienna*: What Provocation they gave you to suspect their *Bonne Foy*, either then or now. I have said that Justice to your Country obliges you to this *Eclaircissement*; and I now add, that Justice to yourself, an indispensable Regard to your own Honour demands it from you: That the World may be convinced whether you have any just Motives to oppose King *Stanislaus*, or whether your Conduct proceeds from *Schemes and Views hatch'd on the Banks of the Danube*. If *France* has broke no Faith with you, I am at a Loss how to reconcile an implicate Obedience to the Emperor's Dictates, for so I am afraid the Majority of Mankind will call it, with your former Confidence in the Honour and Justice of his *most Christian Majesty*, and the Conduct you so long grounded upon it. This is a Point which regards not only you, but *Great Britain*, in the highest Degree; For if King *George's* TENURE had more Occasion for the Friendship of *Louis* the 15th, than that Monarch, who has no Competitor, no Pretender to the Crown he wears, can ever have for the Friendship of the August House of *Hanover*; if, nevertheless, you could trust the Court of *France* Nine Years together, upon the meer Force of her *Bonne Foy*, without any Advantage accruing to herself, but that of being punctual to her Word and her Honour; if, according to *Walsingham*, himself, she was inviolably just to her Engagements, all that time, tho' to her own Detriment: All these things consider'd, why may not she be trusted in the present Case, when so great, and so new an Obligation, as you have now in your Power to lay upon her, as well as her own Interest, will engage her to Gratitude to us, and oblige her to be faithful to her Engagements, if no other Consideration can?

To strengthen this Argument, and to leave you without the least Scruple upon this Head, I here offer to send you half a Score Lines, provided you promise me, upon Honour, to consider them with Attention, which

I would have published in this Place, had I not been apprehensive of putting some People too much upon their Guard, and of justly incurring the Censure of Imprudence from every *Briton*, who has the Interest of his Country at Heart. These Lines will convince you, that if you espouse the Interest of King *Stanislaus*, *France* cannot possibly deceive *Great Britain*, without doing an irreparable Injury and Injustice to herself; but, on the contrary, she must ever remain a staunch Friend to the *Act of Settlement*, and the best *Guarantee* the *Protestant Succession* can possibly have, if *Britain*, as the Interest of her Trade requires and loudly calls upon her, will reciprocally become a sincere Friend to *France*, and be a *Guarantee* for her in an Affair which the Lines I have mentioned will communicate to you. This will establish a perpetual indissoluble Friendship between the two Kingdoms, to the equal Advantage of Both: Whereas the *Austrian* Measures can only tend to put them at Variance, and engage them in Quarrels, *that the Dutch may grow richer, and the Emperor more powerful* than is consistent either with the Interest and Honour of *England*, or the Safety of King *George's* Dominions in *Germany*, or the Conservation of his Dignity as Elector of *Hanover*.

To consider this Matter a little farther. For every Victory we gained the last War, *and every Town we put into the Hands of the Dutch*, which seldom cost us less than Seven or Eight Millions Sterling, the Year's Expence included, we sung *Te Deum* by way of Thanksgiving. This Action would have been an open Affront to the Almighty, had we thought the War was unjust: But we had Religion enough, at that Time, to attribute all our *unprofitable* Success, I call it so, because the *Dutch* made all the Profit of it, to the Justice of our Cause, and the Approbation of Heaven. Will not the *French*, then, have the same Pretensions to Success, and if they meet with it, undoubtedly make a better Use of it than we did of Ours, if we treat them unjustly? Shall we not furnish them with Arguments to justify a War, both before God and Man, if we force them to attack

us? That the War would be as unjust on our Side, as it would be impolitick in us to draw it upon our selves, I shall shew it immediately.

But whether it would be really unjust or not, would not *Britons* be apt to call it a *Ministerial War*? Would the People bear the Load of it, as chearfully and as unanimously, as they did the heavy Burthen of the last, if they saw that it might, and ought to have been prevented, by consulting their Interest, and preferring it to the Schemes, the insidious Schemes of the *Austrian Ministers*? Are they not too much oppressed already by Taxes and *Excises*? Or, do you imagine, that *Englishmen*, like tame, insensible, passive *Beasts* of Burthen, will always slavishly dodge on, and stagger under their Pack, until it crushes them at last quite down to the Earth, to support a War of their Minister's bringing upon them; whether it be through want of Judgment, or through Motives less excusable, and equally dangerous? It is said, that *Richlieu*, in his ludicrous Intervals, if I may call them so, used to compare *France* to an *Ass*, which, the more it is loaded, the steddier it walks. But should any Minister of ours ever attempt to make the damnable Experiment upon Britain, I hope she will exert her hitherto unsubdued Spirit of Liberty, and make the execrable Villain an Example to Posterity. If a Highway-Man is hanged in Chains, must the Robber of a whole Nation escape, and pass with Impunity?

For the foregoing Reasons, if I can make any Judgment of your National Affection, your hitherto *uncorrupted Integrity*, and your profound Wisdom, so admired by all the World; if I can draw any Conclusion from such incontestable Premises, I am sure you will consider very maturely of this Affair of *Poland*, before you expose your already near ruined Country to new Impositions; before you give the finishing Hand to the Destruction of our Trade; and before you bring the *Protestant Succession* itself into manifest Peril, by precipitating us into a War with *France*.

Whatever

Whatever Victories we boast of, the *French* count as many on their Side. Many *Ministerial* Experiments have convinced us, that both Nations are naturally too brave to be Enemies to one another. They ought rather to employ their Courage in each others Support. This, Sir, is the Conduct which the Ministers on both Sides ought to pursue ; for if we have sometimes had the Fortune to reduce the *French* to great Difficulties, they have afterwards recovered their Losses much sooner than we have repaired the Damage we sustained by our Victories : Witness, the present Condition of both Kingdoms. In short, Sir, after all our Quarrels with *France*, these Six Hundred Years past ; after all the Alliances we have been engaged in against her ; what have we now to brag of but broken Bones, a Crowd of Invalids in *Chelsea*, a few Rags in *Westminster* and *Guild-Halls*, a S— Army, an indebted, *Excised* Nation, the Loss of all our *French* Provinces, the Capture of our Merchant-Ships, and even of many of our Men of War, the Ruin of our Trade, and the Expence of many more Millions of ready Money, than would now purchase the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain* were it to be Sold ? Most glorious Acquisitions ! Most irresistible Temptations, to goad us on to a new Trial of Skill ! Must we tread the same fatal Steps over again ? And will you, Sir, copy the Destructive Mistakes, or something worse, of some of your Predecessor Ministers ?

It has been but too often the Misfortune of *England* to have her Fate in the Hands of Ministers, who sacrificed the Interest of Posterity to the Success of some present pernicious Scheme, that was likely to bring private Lucre to themselves : If they could but enrich their Families, and make them *Great* with Titles, they little cared to what Difficulties and Dangers they exposed their Country in the Sequel. I need not give you any Examples of this Truth. You are acquainted with but too many already ; and it would be foreign to my Purpose, because you know how thoroughly I am convinced, I should rather say, how

how thoroughly all the Nation is convinced, of your *Incorruption*. But I shall present you with one Instance of Danger that followed an Error in Queen *Anne's* Ministers, which had like to have overturned our Constitution, and covered *Great Britain* with War and Destruction, from one End of the Kingdom to the other: I only call it an Error, because every Body knows that the principal Person at the Helm, nine Years together, did not dye near as rich as might have been expected from the Legal Income of his Post; consequently he made no Fortune at the Expence of his Country: I mean the Great Earl of *Godolphin*, whose Memory I shall always revere, for his exemplary Impartiality, his inflexible Integrity, and his *honest Contempt of Bribes*, as much as I do the immortal Duke of *Marlborough's* for his indefatigable Vigilance, his matchless Conduct, and his irresistible Courage.

When King *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden* had, by a Reverse of Fortune, and a Train of Disasters, shewed the World the Vanity of Conquests, and the Weakness of all human Projects; when that heroick, though unfortunate Prince, was forced to take Refuge in *Turkey*, we suffered the *Dane* to fall upon the *Swedish* Dominions, contrary to the Treaty of *Travendall*, and our Guarantee of it. We suffered the King of *Prussia* to do the same; and King *Augustus* to march into *Poland* with an Army, and to remount that Throne, in Violation of the Treaty of *Alt-Rastad*, by which he had made an absolute Cession of the *Polish* Crown, renounced all manner of Title to it, acknowledged *Stanislaus* King of *Poland*, and joined with the King of *Sweden* in desiring the *Guaranty* of *England* and *Holland*. "The Queen indeed, says the Author of the *Conduct of the Allies*, "did not give the Guaranty in "Form; but as a Step towards it, the Title of King "was given to *Stanislaus*, by a Letter from her "Majesty; and the strongest Assurances were made "to the *Swedish* Minister in her Majesty's Name, and "in a Committee of Council, that the Guaranty should
"speedily

“ speedily be granted ; and that, in the mean While,
 “ it was the same Thing as if the Forms were
 “ passed.”

But notwithstanding our Guarantee of the Treaty of *Travendall* ; notwithstanding we recognized King *Stanislaus*, gave him the Title of King, and gave the most solemn Assurances to the *Swedish* Minister in her Majesty's Name, and in a Committee of Council, that the Guarantee should speedily be granted, and that it was the same Thing as if the Forms were passed ; notwithstanding all this, We, contrary, I am afraid, to publick Faith, Honour, Justice, and the Interest of *England*, suffered *Stanislaus* to be dethroned, and the *Swedish* Dominions to be torn to Pieces by *Muscovy*, *Denmark*, and *Prussia*. All this was done in the very Zenith of a *British* Ministry, which could never be accused, as another Ministry has been of late, of having any latent Design in Favour of the *Chevalier*.

That this was contrary to publick Faith, &c. I believe is self-evident by the Treaty of *Travendall*, of which we were a Guarantee ; by Queen *Anne*'s Letter ; and by the Assurances made to the *Swedish* Minister. That it was contrary to the Interest of *England*, I shall show you this Moment.

In the first Place, it was not the Interest of *England* to let the *Dane* grow too powerful, because of the *Sound*, of which he is Master ; and upon the Passage of which he will undoubtedly raise the Duties, as he rises in Power.

In regard to *Prussia*, our Ministers might have considered, that that *Act* of Settlement had destined the Crown of *Great Britain* to the *August House* of *Hanover*, after the Demise of Queen *Anne* ; and consequently, they ought not to have contributed, directly, nor indirectly, to the making of the *Prussian* too powerful in *Germany* for the Prince who was to be our Sovereign ; because of the Expences which any Quarrel between them might put *England* to : This, Sir, they ought to have considered and foreseen. The Case has happened ; and its still recent enough, that our present Monarch

was

was within a few Hours of being besieged in the Capital of his *German* Dominions, by his *Prussian* Majesty in Person, and would have actually been so, had not *France* interposed, and given a Proof of her *Bonne Foy*, at that Time, which I think ought to have no little Weight with you in the present Juncture.

But, perhaps you will say, That it is an easy Matter for any Man to reason upon Events after they have happened. This I acknowledge to be true : But I must also add, that it is the Duty of a *British* Minister, before he engages his Country in any Treaty, or takes any extraordinary Steps, to look into Futurity ; to examine the Interests and Views of all the Princes around him ; to foresee the Events that may flow from his Conduct, and to consider the Mischiefs which his Obstinacy may give Birth to. I can hardly be persuaded that our Ancestors fought so many Battels, both at Home and Abroad, in Defence of their Liberty, and the Interest of their Country, meerly to build up a Minister at last, to play at Cups and Balls with the Fate of Posterity ; or to make his Ambition, or his private Interest, or his Caprice, the Arbiters of their Destiny. This is not applicable, in any Measure to the late Earl of *Godolphin* ; but we have had some Treasurers, Sir, whose Hands were not altogether so clean ; whose Hearts were not quite so honest, nor Heads in any Measure so sound as his ; though he was mistaken in regard to the Affairs of *Sweden*, and perhaps it was the only Mistake of Consequence, he was guilty of all the while he continued in that high Station. Therefore we must leave my Lord *Godolphin* entirely out of the Case, when I say, that our Ancestors certainly employed their Courage and their Swords to a very ill-fated Purpose, if they fought to cloath a Minister with an absolute, uncontrollable Power, in a limited Monarchy, to destroy their Progeny : We may say of such a Minister, as *Cato* did of *Cæsar* ; *For him the Fabii and the Decii died.*

But

But as *Britain* is not yet come to that deplorable Pass, if her Ministers expect Praises and Rewards for the Good that may accrue from their Administration; they ought also to prepare themselves for Reproaches and Punishments for the Evils they may draw upon their Country, by pursuing rash, head-strong Measures, in Defiance of Honour and Justice, and in open Contempt of the Interest of the Publick, and the general Sense of the People. — But to return to the King of *Sweden*.

All the World knows that he was not the Aggressor in the War he was engaged in. The *Czar*, King *Augustus*, and the King of *Denmark*, had parcelled out his Dominions among themselves in Design, and leagued together for that Purpose against him, even in his Minority; but they reckoned without their Host, for which *Charles* chastized them all, before he had attained to that Age in which we usually write Man. And when his *Swedish* Majesty was in *Saxony*, he had it in his Power to put an End to the Grand Alliance himself; and even to crush it to Atoms: But did he so? No Sir: He shewed himself our Friend; he refused the Addresses of *France*, and turned his Arms another Way, as fatally for *Sweden*, as fortunately for *Britain*, the House of *Austria* and *Holland*. His generous Behaviour at that Time, deserved, and ought to have met with our Friendship and Assistance in the Misfortunes that soon after beset him. The Moment we heard that he was among the *Turks*, we ought to have sent a Squadron of Men of War to bring him Home, that he might be in a Condition to defend his Dominions. *France*, much more generous than *Britain* upon that Occasion, offered to do so; but that Greatness of Soul, so peculiar to *Charles*, which inspired him to reject the Proposals of *France*, when he was in the Height of Power and Prosperity in *Germany*, would not suffer him to accept an Assistance in his Distress, which might tacitly reproach him with too much former Neglect of so brave and so human a Benefactor.

France offered to do what we actually ought to have done for that great and magnanimous Prince, whose Birth will remain an eternal Glory to *Sweden*; whose Example made all his Generals Heroes, and all his Soldiers Miracles of Vertue, Courage, and Military Discipline.

By his *Swedish* Majesty's Care of the *Protestants* in *Silesia*, he shewed what a Friend he was to the *Protestant Cause*; by his refusing the Offers and Sollicitations of *France* then in War with us, he shewed what a Friend he was to *Great Britain*, and the *Protestant Succession*. These Considerations ought, in Gratitude and Conscience, to have engaged us in the Preservation of his Dominions, when their Valiant Owner was at too unfortunate a Distance to protect them. But our then Ministry seemed to be infatuated into other Measures; and now let us see what was the Consequence of their Conduct, and what Attenuement they could have made to their Country, and the *August House of Hanover*, had not the injured and provoked King of *Sweden* been killed at *Fredericksball*.

As soon as his *Swedish* Majesty returned from *Turkey*, he breathed nothing but that Vengeance so natural to Man, after Treatment which the Laws of Honour, and even common Prudence cannot pardon, until Pardon is asked. He immediately clapt up a Peace with the *Czar*. In that Peace he sacrificed his Interest to his Revenge against *England*. He projected the Dethronement of our King, *as you very well know*; and the *Czar* joined him in the Project. Thus a Storm was gathering over *Britain*, which would have dashed her to Pieces, had not the Death of *Charles the XIIth* prevented the Blow.

Had that second *Mars* lived to bring over the *Chevalier*, what would have become of the *Act of Settlement*? What would have become of the *Properties* of all Those concerned in our *Funds*? What Oceans of Blood would have shed in the dreadful Strife against a Prince, whose only Pleasure was Danger, whose Musick, as he called it himself, was the whistling of Bullets,

Bullets, and the roaring of Cannons? What could *Prussia*, or *Saxony*, or *Denmark*, have done for us; when new Troubles were raised in *Poland*, and the *Czar* thundering upon them with Two or three Hundred Thousand Men? From what Corner of the Earth then could we have expected Assistance?—Would it have come from *Holland*? I doubt it very much.—Their Succours came late enough in the Year 1715: Not till after the Death of *Louis XIVth*, and they found we did not want them. If they were so cautious at that Time, they would have been much more so, when they saw all the *North* in a Flame, and the King of *Sweden* in *England*, at the Head of Twenty Thousand resolute, determined, *Swedes*, and twice as many discontented, desperate *Britons*. The *Dutch* are too cunning, and understand their Interest too well, to trouble their Heads about our Preservation, when they can speed better by our Misfortunes; and they found their Account but too visibly in the last *Civil War* in *England*, not to wish to see her thrown again into the same calamitous Condition.

In so desperate a Case, would Succours have come to us from *Spain*? Yes certainly, Sir, because She was in the same Measures, in Return of the many famous Services we had rendered her in Favour of the *House of Austria*: *Spain* ought to run full Speed to the Assistance and Preservation of *England*, because we had been the main Instruments of taking the *Milaneze*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and the *Netherlands* from her, to give them to the Emperor, who could have done us no manner of Service, if the King of *Sweden* had once set his Foot on *British* Ground. Nay, the Emperor did us a Disservice, and exposed us to the Danger of his Resentments, in letting that exasperated Prince pass through the *Imperial* Dominions, in his Way Home, after we had so highly provoked him: — But we have often met with such Lifts from the *House of Austria*, which, I suppose, makes us so fond of it. We also love the *Dutch*, though there is not a Day passes that in which they do not prejudice our Trade in

some Respect or other. — But to return from this little Digression.

Would *France* have assisted us against the *Chevalier*, supported and protected by the King of *Sweden*? If she would, there is an End of the Argument, for you will be then without any Excuse under the Sun, for not closing with her in supporting King *Stanislaus*.

I assure you, that I have not represented the Scene more dreadful than it would have been in Reality, if the King of *Sweden* had lived. Monsieur *Voltaire* furnishes us with sufficient Materials to form a pretty ample Judgment of it, in his History of *Charles* the XIIth; but there are Particulars which he either did not know, or forgot to relate. I should therefore be very glad to know, and so I believe would all *Britain*, what Attonement our Ministers could have made, what Excuse they could have given, for the bloody Work they had cut out for their Country, by male treating the terrible *Charles* the XIIth in his Misfortunes, and using such Injustice and Inhumanity to a Prince who never had his Equal, and perhaps never will in the Qualities of an Hero.

Had such a Thing happened in the Administration of another *Great Man*, I would have said without any Hesitation, that it was done expressly to give the *Chevalier* a fair Hit for the Crown; by provoking a Prince into his Interest who was the most likely to serve him of any Power in *Europe*, since the Arms of *France* had proved unfortunate. When I see any Measures taken in *Britain* that tend to exasperate the People at Home, and provoke Neighbours abroad, whose Situation can hurt us, I begin to suspect a Snake in the Grass; and fancy I see the *Chevalier* at the Bottom, until I consider the Character of the Person sitting at the Helm. The late Earl of *Godolphin* was so spotless that Way, and so entirely clean from the Stains of Corruption, that I can only accuse him of committing an Error, which afterwards brought his Country upon the Verge of Fate; and of being guilty of an Injustice to the King of *Sweden*, and King *Stanislaus*,
through

through want of Reflection, which I am humbly of Opinion the Nation is obliged in Honour to repair as far as she can ; which it is your Duty to advise her to ; and which you have in your Power to perform, as much to her Fame as it will be to her Interest.

To finish this Article of the King of *Sweden* : His Project did not altogether dye with him. The *Czar* continued it ; and then we found the Mistake, and the Punishment too that attended that Mistake, in not putting *Charles* in a Condition to drive the *Czar* out of *Ingria* and *Livonia*, which we might have done, by bringing Home his *Swedish* Majesty, instead of seeing his Dominions over-run by so many Powers at once. The Possession of *Ingria* and *Livonia*, put the Emperor *Peter* I. who was another Prodigy, in his Way, in full Condition to establish a Fleet sufficient to keep us in perpetual Alarms, almost ever since. How many Squadrons have we been obliged to send to the *Baltick*, to watch the Motion of the *Czar*, and the *Czarine* he left behind him, Heiress of his mighty Designs, as well as of his vast Empire ? How expensive has this been to *Great Britain* ? How burthensome to the People ? How many Ships have we lost in the *Baltick*, through the Resentments of the King of *Sweden*, after his Return ? How has our Trade suffered there upon Account of the Treatment he received from us in his Distress ? Yet was not all this Danger ; all this Trouble ; all this Expence and Loss, besides the Charge of a Standing Army at Home, while *Peter* and his *Czarine* lived, owing to the Conduct of our former Ministers ? And ought not the fatal Consequences that attended their Measures at that Time, serve as a Land-Mark to you in the present Case ; to prevent you from running your Country upon the like Rock ; since you cannot possibly atone for any Disaster that may follow your Conduct ? For my part, I can never conceive how you can possibly enter into Concert for rendering *Muscovy* still more powerful, as the rejecting *Stanislaus* will certainly make her, but with a View to —

Sir,

Sir, you will please to excuse me ; you can guess the rest.

So far I have in your Defence, Sir, combated the Report of his Majesty's Enemies here, by shewing how absolutely inconsistent it is with your Duty to your Country, your Loyalty to your Prince, your *so often tryed Integrity*, and the prudent Regard you ought to have to your Safety ; I shall now attack the main Argument they bring to support their Assertion that you will oppose King *Stanislaus*.

They allow in general Terms that it is, undoubtedly, the Interest of *England*, considered as *England*, to concur with *France* in not opposing King *Stanislaus* : But, on the other hand, they say that the Preservation of *Bremen* and *Verden* will be of more Weight with you than either Liberty or Property of the *English* Subject, or Trade ; or the Interest of all *Britain* put together. *If* (say they) *King Stanislaus returns, he certainly renews his Alliance with Sweden ; and the latter will take that Opportunity to fall upon Bremen and Verden, and the other Places taken from her during the Absence of her King. For which Reason, Sir Robert will advise King George to oppose King Stanislaus, by all the Alliances and Means in his power.*

This, Sir, is the chief Argument made use of ; but you will please to consider it as the Argument of the Enemies of the *Protestant Succession* ; and as the Foundation of their Hopes, along with a *General Excise*, and a few other Articles. As it is so, it ought to raise your Indignation, as no doubt it will, and guide you to a quite opposite Conduct. It carries in it the most audacious, the most insolent Reflection that can be possibly thrown upon the Justice and Honour of our Sovereign ; And yet it is no more than what one may hear over and over an hundred times a day in this City.

Is it to be imagined, much less supposed, by any reasonable Man, acquainted with the Royal Virtues of his Majesty, that the just, the magnanimous King *George the Second* will prefer the Possession of two paltry Duchies, compared with his other Dominions, to the
general

general Interest of a loyal, generous People, who unanimously and cheerfully elected his Family, and confer'd Three Great Kingdoms upon them, when so many Princes stood prior to them in Title to the *British* Throne, before the passing of the *Act of Settlement*? Must the Trade of *England*, when this is the most happy Juncture that we could possibly wish for to recover it in; the Trade of *England*! the only Hope and Refuge of the Poor and the Industrious! the Support of our Farmers and Gentlemen! the very Soul of all our Nobility and Greatness! Must this Trade, too much plundered and ravished from us already! be entirely sacrificed, at last, to the Consideration of *Bremen* and *Verden*? God forbid! and keep you from committing so horrid a Villany. I hope, Sir, nay I am sure, you have nothing like it in your Thoughts. But — should it prove so — to what wretched Circumstances is *Britain* reduced! How fatal a Purchase has she made! — I mean, Sir, of all the Victories and Triumphs of the last War; all the Fruits of which must be sacrificed to *Bremen* and *Verden*, if what the Jacobites say, here, happens to have any Truth in it.

But believe it who will: For my part, I will never entertain, or give the least admittance to such a Thought of you, until I see King *Stanislaus* set aside meerly by your joining in Intrigues against him, and helping to carry on the *Vienna* Scheme, which, if successful, can produce nothing less than an *Imperial* Despotism over *Europe*, if I may be permitted to use the Term, or at least, the *Slavery* of all the Princes of *Germany*. When I see you active in any such Measures I shall wonder at nothing; and look upon, not only *Bremen* and *Verden* to be in much less Security than they are at present, or would be by King *Stanislaus*'s Success, but even the Dutchy of *Zell* and the *Protestant Succession*.

I need not explain what I mean by the Dutchy of *Zell*, because you know it already; and are no Stranger to the Temper of his *Prussian* Majesty. This Temper shewed itself visibly enough just after the Treaty of
Hanover

Hanover. But as to *Bremen* and *Verden*, I am humbly of Opinion that the Return of King *Stanislaus* would prove the best Security they can possibly have. Here are some of my Reasons; but the most important ones I reserve to be privately communicated to you: My Design is not to instruct our Enemies, but to advise our Minister: This is a Duty I owe to my Country.

Bremen and *Verden*, among other *Swedish* Spoils, fell to the Share of *Denmark*. His late Majesty King *George* the First, of glorious and immortal Memory, bought them from the *Dane* for a valuable Consideration, as all *England* know; and his *Imperial* Majesty gave the Investiture of them in the most authentick Forms: *Sweden* has since renounced all further Pretensions to them; confirmed the Purchase, the Investiture, the Possession, and the Right of the *House* of *Hanover* to them for ever: All this *Sweden* has done in the most solemn and publick manner.

Is there then no Faith, no Honour, no Justice in Princes? If not, why are Treaties made? why are Engagements entered into? Is it only to amuse the People with a Farce, or is it to cheat and lie them out of their Money; and to laugh at them afterwards for having been such Fools in parting with it so easily? — But, Sir, I will suppose Treaties to be binding and sincerely meant, because you have made so many yourself; and because I imagine a great deal of *Treasure*, but I do not say the *Treasure* of *England*, has been spent upon them. You may have King *Stanislaus*'s Word before he returns that he never will assist the *Swedes* in any Attempt upon *Bremen* and *Verden*; and you may depend upon his keeping it inviolably: Nay, you may have his *Guaranty* if you demand it. He has shewed himself to be a gallant, generous Prince, by his Behaviour upon several occasions; particularly by his Gratitude to the King of *Sweden*, and his magnanimous Deportment under his Misfortunes: In short, none but an honest Man could behave as he has done. If ever a Prince's Foibles appear, it is in Adversity: At such a time they seldom receive Quarter. Yet this Prince

Prince seems to have lost the Crown of *Poland* only to acquire the Admiration of all *France*, and the Esteem of every Man of Honour. Wherefore if you make him a Friend to *Great Britain*, you will find him a very sincere and a very useful one. *France* and *Spain* will also be Guarantees for *Bremen* and *Verden* if King *Stanislaus* returns, in Friendship with *England*. Even *Denmark* and *Prussia*, whether Friends or Enemies to us, or whatever Party you take, will, for their own Interest and Security, always endeavour to hinder *Bremen* and *Verden* from falling again into the hands of *Sweden*; at least *Denmark* will, whatever *Prussia* may do.

Let us farther consider that *Great Britain* has always had Fleets to protect her Neighbours and Allies, tho' very often to her own Prejudice. But will she have none to protect *Bremen* and *Verden* for her own Sovereign, when she sees him so generously expose them for her Advantage; should they ever be exposed upon that account, as I am positive they never will. Thus, all things considered, neither You, nor *Bremen*, nor *Verden*, nor any of his Majesty's *German* Dominions, run any risk, if you act fairly by your Country, that is, if you act like a Gentleman with King *Stanislaus*; but you expose yourself, *Great Britain*, and all his Majesty's Hereditary Duchies and Countries abroad to a great deal of Danger, by taking a contrary Conduct to humour the *House of Austria*.

By entering into the Emperor's Measures, we shall have his *Imperial* Majesty, the *Czarine*, a *Vienna* King of *Poland*, the King of *Denmark*, and perhaps, the *States General* in our Alliance. We shall have the honour too, of being insensibly brought in *Principals*, as we were in the last War to support the Pretensions of the *House of Austria* to the Monarchy of *Spain*; I say Sir, we shall be brought in *Principals* in a War which we are obliged to avoid by all possible Means, and have those means in our power.

Against us we shall have *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, with *Hesse Cassel*, several Princes of *Germany*, and not im-

possibly *Prussia* itself, notwithstanding present Appearances to the contrary; except you purchase his *Prussian* Majesty's Friendship at a higher Price than *Bremen* and *Verden* are worth. I do not advance this, without thoroughly weighing what I say; and for your farther Satisfaction you may look over your Maps, reflect how suddenly the King of *Prussia* was brought off from the Treaty of *Hanover*, and consider the Views and Interest of that soaring Monarch. But should he remain firm to us if we join with the Emperor in this Business of *Poland*, and draw a War upon ourselves by doing so, will it make our Expences one Farthing the less in the War? Our Expences are an Article you must never let out of your Sight; and since this is an *Imperial* Project, let the Emperor bear the Charge of it himself, and take the Danger, too, into the Bargain. If we understood ourselves, the Emperor is the last Prince in *Europe* we ought to manage; for his own Interest will always constrain him to assist us against *France*, upon any emergent Occasion, whether he loves us or not. You know that *England* has always paid dearer for his Friendship than it deserved, and often been the Dupe of it; Witness the last War. For these Reasons it is time to rescue the People from that sort of *State Legerdemain* that was palmed upon them thirty Years ago. It is time for *England* to value herself more, and the *House* of *Austria* less than she has done hitherto.

The Alliance of *Russia* will be but of little Consequence to us in a War with *France*, if any Body blunders or cheats us into one; The Money of *France* will then arm the *Swede* to furnish sufficient Diversion on that side. Moreover, the *Muscovites* are too far off to be of any considerable Assistance to Us against the *French*; and, were they not, they only love us from the Teeth outward. The *Dutch* carry away the greatest Part of the *Russia* Trade. They have had much more Interest there than we have, ever since they stigmatized us at the *Muscovite* Court, as a rebellious and villanous People that had cut off the Head of our King.

But

But still they are our Preservers and Supporters, in the Stile of the *London Journal*; for which you may consult that Paper of the 12th of *December*, 1730. But be they as much so, as that doating Fool *Osborne* pleases, they are our *Rivals* in Commerce; and very *unfair Rivals* you know them to be by Experience: They naturally wish us no Success, but where they find a double Advantage accruing from it to themselves. Wherefore I see no manner of Reason, except you have some private *Weighty Ones*, why you should throw your Country into the Circumstances of depending upon either the Friendship or the Fidelity of *Holland*: And I once more tell you, that it is not safe to depend upon One or the Other too much.

As to the King of *Denmark*, His Father's Friendship cost us a considerable Subsidy all the last War, to engage him to hire his Troops to us, at a good round Pay, to fight for the Interest of the House of *Austria*: Money which I think was very ill laid out, and I hope you think so too. His present *Danish* Majesty's Friendship will cost *Britain* no less in case of a new War upon the like Footing. Must *Britons*, then, be exposed to all these Expences and Difficulties to make a King of *Poland* that may serve the Emperor's Turn?

King *Stanislaus* has fate already in the Throne of that Kingdom; He was actually acknowledged by *Great Britain*; The *Guarantee* of his Possession was also actually promised by our Ministers in the Queen's Name, and in a Committee of Council. Upon these Accounts he has a Right to demand our Assistance. We ought to repair our former Behaviour in looking with unconcern upon the Return of *Augustus* into *Poland*, and the Violation of the Treaty of *Travendall* by the *Dane*: Both which we were obliged by publick Faith, and consequently by Justice and all the Rules of Honour to prevent. This Reparation will be the only means to secure *Bremen* and *Verden*, as it will preserve the Friendship of *France*, and keep it and *Sweden* from troubling the Empire.

But, instead of shewing ourselves Men of Honour and Justice, will you overwhelm your Country with Confusion and Infamy? Will you give *Britons* room to say, that their Fame and their Interest are sacrificed to private Considerations; to underhand Schemes and Cabals? That Opportunities of retrieving her so long languishing Trade are willfully neglected, *through Regard for the Interest of Holland, and a false Apprehension that Bremen and Verden would be in Danger by King Stanislaus's Return?* That this Prince is opposed, and *France* insulted, with the express View of keeping up *Pretendership*, that it may be an Annual Drain for the People's Money, and a standing Pretext to keep up an Army too big for their Liberties? Will you give the *Chevalier*, who has now a much wiser and more active Ministry than his Father ever had, or than he himself ever had before; will you, I ask, give him a Chance for the Throne, by doing a palpable Injustice to a Prince who never did any Thing in his Life to disoblige *England*? Will you suffer the *British* Subjects, who were ruined by the *Mississippi System* and *Visa in Paris*, to remain any longer without that Satisfaction, which you have now the fairest Opportunity in the World to procure for them? Will you let the Affair of our unfortunate Countrymen in *America*, and the Depredations committed upon our Merchants by the *Spanish Guarda de la Costa's*, spin out to a Length which you may now cut very short, by cultivating a Friendship, *I mean an advantageous one*, with *Spain*? Must so many Sufferers be all sacrificed to the Schemes and Cabals of *Vienna*? Shew me, if you can, that *France* was ever abused, or the *French* ill treated by any Nation whatever, where her Ministers did not vindicate the Honour of their Country, and procure Satisfaction for their Countrymen, as soon as ever they found the State in a Condition to do it? Shall *Britons* then expect less Justice, from their Minister, less Protection from their Sovereign than the *French* find from theirs? Is the State not in a Condition to procure Satisfaction for the Wrongs *Britons* have received; and yet in a Condition

to undertake a War, or at least to venture one, against *France, Spain, and all their Allies*, to please the *House of Austria*? Do you prefer the Interest of that *House*, to the Interest of your Fellow Subjects?

But, to speak no more of the Sufferers in the *Visa*, nor of the Ruin of many a worthy Merchant by the *Spanish Guarda de la Costa's*; Will you expose *Gibraltar* by an ill-timed, unjust War? *Gibraltar!* the only Acquisition we have, for Two Hundred Millions Sterling? besides the many Millions more which the *Dutch* have got in Trade, at our Expence, since the *Revolution*. No, Sir: None of these Diabolical Things will you do. Your generous Soul abhors them. God has now blest you with the most favourable Opportunity, that any Minister ever had, of serving your Country; and I hope, for the Sake of *Great Britain*, that he will give you the Wisdom and the Honesty to make a right Use of it.

But if these Considerations have no Weight with you; a Thing which no Man but yourself shall ever make me believe; I once more offer to send you a Plan to prevent your entering into concert with the Ministers of *Vienna*, before it is too late to retreat. This Plan not only proposes the Recovery of our Trade, in the Restoration of *King Stanislaus*, but points out a Kingly Provision for his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, which Provision I hope will not be rejected, because it is undeniably to the Advantage and Honour of the *British Nation*; though our *Dutch* Friends may happen not to like it. This Plan will also convince you by fair Demonstration that it will be the Interest of *France* to act sincerely with us; and to preserve a perpetual, inviolable Alliance and Friendship with the August House of *Hanover* and Kingdom of *Great Britain*. — But, as our Enemies are upon the look-out, it would be imprudent to say more at present; the Perusal will cost you nothing; but it may save you a great deal of Trouble, and prevent an endless Train of Calamities and Dangers. All I desire is, that the Person to whom you order me to deliver it, shall be obliged to sign a correct Copy of it, with

with a Receipt underneath ; that it may serve me hereafter, either as a Recommendation to my Country, or a Defence against any sinister Practices: To this End, that Person must be a Man of Distinction, and well known to me: I do not know any so proper as his Excellency my Lord *Waldegrave*, because I can confide in his Honour. If you refuse my Plan upon these Terms, you will find my Pen in your Way, when, perhaps you may least desire to meet it; but if you receive it, and either approve my Proposals, or shew me good Reasons for rejecting them, you will engage me to be your sincere Friend for the Future, and

S I R,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

CHARLES FORMAN.

POSTSCRIPT.

S I R,

IT is now become a common Practice, with some People, to call all Men *Jacobites*, or *Republicans* that cannot, in Conscience, approve every Article of the present Administration; and I must not hope, nor do I desire, to escape such Men's Scurrility, for this new Proof of my Duty and Affection to my Country: Nay, I must rather expect to meet with my Share of those sublime Compliments, now flying about in this Zenith of the *Osbornean* and *Walsinghamian* Eloquence. But whether I am a *Jacobite*, or a Friend to the *Hanover Succession*, let this Piece decide; whether I am a *Republican*,

lican, or a *Lover of our British Constitution*, let it also tell; I appeal to it to stop the Mouths of those shameless, slavish, weekly Drudges. If this cannot silence such mercenary Tongues and Pens, I know how to do it effectually another Way. *Le Sage entend à demi Mot.*

It was also a pretty successful Custom, during the late War, to brand every Man with the Character of an *Advocate for France*, when he was not a *mercenary Agent of the Dutch Measures* for prolonging that War. I may chance to meet with the same Fate, for proposing a strict Amity and Alliance with *France* at this Time. But, Sir, I shall regard such an Accusation with the utmost Contempt, from what Quarter soever it comes: Tho' I must tell you, *en passant*, that I think it much more reputable to be an *Advocate for France*, especially upon so just and so honourable an Occasion as this is, than to be a *Tool* or a *Drudge* to the *Ministry of Vienna*, in any dirty, unjust Affair whatever: Especially to the Prejudice, and perhaps the Ruin of *Britain*.

But, for your further Satisfaction, as I shall answer it to the Great God, if I publish an Untruth upon so serious an Occasion, I here declare in his divine Presence, and in the Presence of all the World, that *France* knows nothing of my writing this Letter, directly or indirectly; and that I never received a Farthing of her Money, nor eat an Ounce of Bread at her Expence, in all my Life. No, Sir Robert: I am no Pensioner: Nor ever will be one against the Interest of my Country. I even declined a Pension of *Five Hundred Pounds a Year*, above *Twelve Years* ago, from my own Sovereign, King *George the First*; because the Terms were not explained to me, upon which it was offered: Though I have been since convinced that I might have accepted it with Honour; and that his Majesty was above expecting any dishonourable Services from me. My Delicacy, at that Time, has already kept above *Six Thousand Pounds* out of my Pocket, which I might have received, besides depriving me of the Chance for a far better Provision. Shew me, then, among all my Enemies, any one of them, if charged with so numerous a Family as I am,
that

that would have been guilty of such Self denial, through a Punctilio of Honour. I need not produce any Proof of this Fact, because you know it to be literally true; and because their present Majesties cannot possibly be Strangers to it. Wherefore I decline any further *Eclaircissement*, though it would redound as much to my Honour, as it would be to the Infamy of a certain Gentleman, who has been a much greater Favourite of blind Fortune. — But to return to my Subject.

I have no Call to be an *Advocate* for *France*, or any Obligation under the Sun, that Way; neither does she want or demand my Service. I am only an *Advocate* for my Country: and as such, am of Opinion, which I shall, however, always humbly submit to *Great Britain*, that an Alliance with *France* is the only present safe Means, to extricate our selves out of the fatal and dangerous Labyrinth, into which we seem to have been led.

I presume, Sir, that the late Treaty of *Hanover* was made to preserve the *Ballance* of *Europe*; and I also understand that the late Treaty of *Vienna* was entred into with the same View: But I must confess that I am at a Loss how to reconcile the Emperor's Proceedings with the last mentioned Treaty; except there is some *private Article* in it, that has not been yet revealed to the People of *England*.

If the Emperor attempts to force the *Suffrages* of the *Poles*; if he gets a Prince of his own Nomination elected King of *Poland*; if he brings *Muscovy* entirely to his Sentiments in other Things, as it is to be feared he is endeavouring to do; and if he grows too powerful for the Liberty of the *Electors*, and other Princes of *Germany*, to which it is evident he is every Day making very large Strides, may he not either divide *Poland* afterwards with *Muscovy*, or else make the *Polish* Crown *Hereditary* in the Family of the Prince he forces upon that Kingdom? Which of the Two he does, as One he will then infallibly do, at least we ought to apprehend it; pray what becomes of the *Ballance* of *Europe*? Will any Man in his Senses say, that such an Event

Event would not strike at the *Ballance*? I allow, nevertheless, that though the *Ballance of Power* should happen to be overthrown, the late Treaty of *Vienna* might subsist, if it has any *Private, or Ministerial Explanatory Articles* tagged to it.

But, Sir, let us suppose what I believe no Man in *Briton*, except *Osborn, Walsingham*, and another *Great Author*, will be impudent enough to suppose, that such a Power in the Emperor will make no *Change* in the *Ballance*; what Advantage will accrue to *England*, or rather what Advantages will she not lose, what Expence will she not be exposed to, what Dangers will she not run, by unjustly forwarding the Emperor's Designs, at the Expence of King *Stanislaus*, and the *Slavery* of the *Empire*? This is a Question which I cannot help insisting on. I hope that *Britons* will think it deserves an Answer. And, in the mean Time, I venture to defy any *Writer* you have, to give it a solid One. It is the great, important Point, which *England* has to consider of in this *Crisis* of her Fate.

I offer, once again, to demonstrate, that the Emperor's Measures, if they succeed by your Assistance, I mean, Sir, as to *Poland*, will infallibly ensnare us, and expose our Country to that Ruin which a good Understanding and Friendship with *France* would prevent. The poor Remains of our Trade will be sacrificed to the Encroachments of the *Dutch*; whereas, as I have said before, an Alliance with *France*, upon the Plan I offer you, and which I do not doubt but she will gladly consent to, if you have not already provoked her too far, will put us in a Condition to recover what we have lost. But these Things I must demonstrate with a great deal of Danger to myself, an Article which I submit to your honest Consideration, while I continue persecuted abroad, by a Power which Men of considerable Fortune and Figure have found too formidable for them at Home; and while I am exposed to the endless Rage of People, who glory in saying the worst Things they can invent of the Prince whom you have the Honour to serve,

how politely soever they express themselves, when they speak of his *great Minister*.

If the late Treaty of *Vienna* was really made for preserving the *Ballance* of *Europe*, does not the Emperor depart from the Spirit of it, if he sends Forces to the Frontiers of *Poland* to awe and force the *Poles* in the ensuing Election? And do not you know what you ought to do, as an *honest Englishman*, upon such an Occasion? Yes, Sir: The Emperor departs as much from the Spirit of the late Treaty of *Vienna*, provided it was made for the abovementioned Intent, and what Common Fame says he is doing at present proves true, as the *French* were accused to do from that of *Utrecht*, relating to the *Demolition* of *Dunkirk*, by the *Works* they were carrying on at *Mardyke*: One is altogether as demonstrable as the other.

But, still, if you are determined, in spite of all reasoning, to shew yourself entirely a *Partizan* of the *House* of *Austria* in this Case; if you resolve that *England* shall second the Emperor in his opposing King *Stanislaus*, neither of which the high Opinion I have of your Justice and Wisdom will suffer me to imagine; I say, if you are fully bent to do both one and the other, I take Leave to propose a few Things to you, for your own Safety, as well as for that of your Country.

I. That his *Imperial Majesty* shall incessantly remove the *Dutch* out of *Dendermonde*.

II. That he shall immediately open the *Scheld*, notwithstanding any Treaties to the contrary, and procure us a free, undisturbed Trade up that River to *Antwerp*, or,

III. That he shall assist us with a certain Number of Troops. to be commanded by our Generals, but paid by his *Imperial Majesty*, in any Quarrel we may have with the *Dutch* upon Account of our Trade.

IV. That his *Imperial Majesty* shall forthwith put us in Possession of *Newport*, *Ostend*, *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Dendermonde*, and *Antwerp*; as Cautionary Towns for the faithful Performance of the last two Articles. And,

V. That

V. That he shall engage himself to furnish us with an annual Sum sufficient to pay our Garrisons in those Places. This Article is altogether as reasonable as his giving a *Barrier* to the *Dutch*, and paying their Troops in the *Barrier Towns*.

The last Thing which I have to lay before you is, that if, in Consequence of your Conduct, we shall be brought into a War with *France* and her Allies, you will either engage the Emperor to bear the Expence of it, or find some other Way to support it; without laying any new Load upon the People, or employing any of the Nation's Money that Way. And if the rest of our Trade happens to be ruined, I humbly hope you will supply the Loss yourself; stand bravely in the Gap against popular Fury, for *Osborne* says the People are all run mad already; and let *Walsingham* demonstrate, with his new, M———l Logick, that the Destruction of our Trade, and the Capture of our Ships will prove a great Happiness and Blessing to the *British* Nation, because it will infallibly prove so to the *Dutch*. But still, Sir, I hope, for our own Sakes, that your Conduct will be such as not to give our *Rivals* in Commerce any Reason to rejoice; nor your own Countrymen Occasion to cry out against it.

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